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Demographic Changes in Europe in the 21st Century: Will Poland Become an Immigration State?

Introduction

Early in the 21st century the question of international migrations is growing in importance in Europe. That growth is caused by demographic changes affecting the population of the continent, particularly the ageing of the population, which can be understood in two different ways. First of all, ageing means that the population lives longer: life expectancy at any age and in good health is growing. Ageing also means that the number of old people is growing, and that translates into changes in the structure of the population by age. Ageing is accompanied by low total and partial fertility rates, low live birth rates, and gross and net reproduction rates. The detailed analysis of those changes and their consequences in the regional and global scale was

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prepared as a result of UN¹ and Eurostat² long term population forecasts (in Poland the forecast was prepared by the Central Statistical Office – GUS³).

Poland stands apart when compared to the rest of Europe in terms of demographic changes. Its demographic situation is bad due to negative international migration rate, low total fertility rate (TFR, below the threshold of generation renewal) and ageing of the society. These changes influence Poland's internal socio-economic situation.

For almost ten years now in the scholarly journals, popular science magazines and media much thought has been given to emigration from Poland, while the other important subject, that of immigration, is not covered so well. At the same time the general demographic problems are accompanied by even more severe problems on the job market. Paradoxically, a state with a large number of economic immigrants and with a quite high unemployment rate (exceeding 10%) needs to import labour so that its economy could grow further.

The aim of this paper is to present contemporary and forecast demographic situation of Poland with its most important socio-economic consequences. The description of demographic situation and its consequences will serve as a background for demonstrating the growing importance of international economic migrations for the future demographic potential of Poland. The paper also contains quantitative and qualitative analysis of immigration to Poland.

The accession of Poland into the EU has increased the importance of international migration in shaping of Poland's demographic situation. Poland is an emigration country, which at the same time is receiving large economic immigration from other states in Eastern Europe. The influx of migrants is possible thanks to the improving economic situation. As the demographic and economic situation changes, the importance of immigration from Eastern Europe will grow and the character of that immigration will change.

¹ *World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision, Vol. I: Comprehensive Tables*, United Nations, New York 2009, <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/trends/population-prospects.shtml>; *World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision*, United Nations, <http://esa.un.org/wpp/> [08.06.2014].

² *Population projections 2010–2060*, Eurostat, 8 June 2011, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-08062011-BP/EN/3-08062011-BP-EN.PDF [08.06.2014].

³ *Prognozy ludności*, GUS, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/prognoza-ludnosci/> [08.06.2014].

1. Demographic changes between 2003–2013

This part of the paper will analyse and evaluate population balance and changes in the demographic structure of the population, the natural movement of population (live births, fertility and mortality, excluding marriages and divorces) and international migrations. The analysis is limited to the period between 2003–2013. The choice was made because 2003 is the last year before Poland became EU member state and 2013 is the last year for which the complete data are available.

At the end of 2013 the total population of Poland was 38.496 million, which was 37,000 less than the year before. The population decreased by -0.1% , i.e. the population diminished by 1 person for each 1,000 of inhabitants⁴. In 2013, Poland was by population the 33rd country in the world and the 6th in the European Union. Poland's density of population was average by the European standards⁵.

The factors influencing demographic development of Poland in 2003–2013 are presented in Table 1. The population of Poland between 2003–2013 increased by 0.8% (by 305,100 people). In the same period the number of live births increased (from 351,100 to 369,600 and live birth rate from 9.2‰ to 9.6‰, as did the number of deaths (from 365,200 to 387,300 or from 9.6‰ to 10.1‰ in terms of mortality rate.). The death rate was higher than the live birth rate and it was reflected in natural population decline (by 14,100 in 2003 and 17,700 in 2013). The natural population growth rate was negative in both compared years. In 2003, the natural population growth rate was -0.4% and by 2013 it further declined to -0.5% . At the same time the infant mortality rate declined by 32% from 2,500 in 2003 to 1,700 in 2013.

The international migration balance substantially changed between 2003–2013. Emigrants outnumbered immigrants: in 2003 20,800 people left Poland, while only 7,000 immigrated to the country. By 2013 the number of emigrants increased to 32,100 and of immigrants to 12,200. In 2003, the migration balance was $-13,800$ people and in 2013 even lower: $-19,900$ people.

⁴ *Stan i struktura ludności oraz ruch naturalny w przekroju terytorialnym w 2013 r. Stan w dniu 31 XII*, GUS, Warszawa 2014, p. 124, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/ludnosc/ludnosc-stand-i-struktura-ludnosci-oraz-ruch-naturalny-w-przekroju-terytorialnym-w-2013-r-stand-w-dniu-31-xii,6,12.html> [08.06.2014].

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 125.

Table 1. Population, natural movement and migrations between 2003–2013

Year	Population at December, 31	Live births	Deaths		Natural population growth/ decline	International migrations		
			total	infant		immigration	emigration	migration balance
in thousand								
2003	38,191	351.1	365.2	2.5	-14.1	7.0	20.8	-13.8
2004	38,174	356.1	363.5	2.4	-7.4	9.5	18.9	-9.4
2008	38,136	414.5	379.4	2.3	35.1	15.3	30.1	-14.9
2012	38,533	386.3	384.8	1.8	1.5	14.6	21.2	-6.6
2013	38,496	369.6	387.3	1.7	-17.7	12.2	32.1	-19.9

Year	Live births	Deaths	Natural population growth/decline	Total migration balance	Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)
2003	9.2	9.6	-0.4	-0.4	7.0
2004	9.3	9.5	-0.2	-0.2	6.8
2008	10.9	10.0	0.9	-0.4	5.6
2012	10.0	10.0	0.0	-0.2	4.6
2013	9.6	10.1	-0.5	-0.5	4.6

Source: Own work based on Tabela 2: *Ludność, ruch naturalny i migracje w latach 1946–2013*, in: *Struktura ludności do 2013 r.*, GUS, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/ludnosc/struktura-ludnosci-do-2013-r-,16,1.html> [08.06.2014].

Biological age groups analysis (Table 2) shows that between 2003–2013 the 15–64 age group was the most numerous (growth by 0.5 percentage point to 70.3% or from 26.7 million to 27.1 million). The number of females at reproductive age (15–49) declined by 667,700 or by 1.9 percentage point from 26.1% to 24.2%. At the same time the youngest age group's (0–14) share in population declined from 17.2% to 15% (from 6.6 million to 5.8 million), while the oldest age group (65+) increased its share from 13% to 14.7% (from 5 million to 5.7 million).

The structure of Poland's population by economic age groups (i.e. 0–17, 18–59 (females) and 18–64 (males), 60/65 and above) changed as well (Table 2). Between 2003–2013 the 18–59/64 age group's (the working age group) share of population increased from 62.9% to 63.4% (from 24 million to 24.4 million). At the same time the pre-working age group's share in population declined from 21.9% to 18.2% (from 8.3 million to 7 million people) and the post-working age group's share of population increased from 15.2% to 18.4% (from 5.8 million to 7.1 million).

Table 2. Population and population structure by economic and biological age groups for selected years between 2003–2013 (data for December 31st)

Age groups	2003	2008	2012	2013	Change 2003–2013	Unit
	in thousand					
Total	38,190.6	38,135.9	38,533.3	38,495.7	305.1	Thousand people
0–17	8,349.8	7,349.7	7,066.8	6,995.4	–1,354.4	Thousand people
In % of total population	21.9	19.3	18.3	18.2	–3.7	Percentage points
18–59/64	24,038.8	24,590.5	24,605.6	24,422.1	383.3	Thousand people
In % of total population	62.9	64.5	63.9	63.4	0.5	Percentage points
60/65 and above	5,802.0	6,195.7	6,861.0	7,078.2	1,276.2	Thousand people
In % of total population	15.2	16.2	17.8	18.4	3.2	Percentage points
0–14	6,580.2	5,829.4	5,796.6	5,771.4	–808.8	Thousand people
In % of total population	17.2	15.3	15.0	15.0	–2.2	Percentage points
15–64	26,659.1	27,160.1	27,249.0	27,051.6	392.5	Thousand people
In % of total population	69.8	71.2	70.7	70.3	0.5	Percentage points
65 and above	4,951.3	5,146.3	5,487.7	5,672.6	721.3	Thousand people
In % of total population	13.0	13.5	14.2	14.7	1.7	Percentage points
Females in reproductive age (15–49)	9,984.7	9,619.8	9,388.3	9,317.0	–667.7	Thousand people
In % of total population	26.1	25.2	24.4	24.2	–1.9	Percentage points

Source: Own work based on Tabela 1: *Stan i struktura ludności według wieku w latach 1989–2013*, in: *Struktura ludności do 2013 r.*, GUS, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/ludnosc/struktura-ludnosci-do-2013-r-,16,1.html> [08.06.2014].

Demographic dependency ratio of the working age population of Poland increased due to a decline in the pre-working age population and an increase in the post-working age population. Between 2003–2013 the demographic dependency of the working age group by the pre-working age group declined (from 35 to 29 people per 100 people), but the dependency by the 60/65+ age population increased (from 24 to 29). For each 100 individuals in the 18–59/64 age group there were 59 people in the non-working age group in 2003 and 58 people in 2013. However, it needs to be stressed that in the meantime the total demographic dependency ratio of the

working age group by the non-working age population was lower: as low as 55 people in 2007–2010⁶.

Between 2003–2013 the mean age of mothers at childbirth increased from 27.3 to 29.3 as did the age of mothers at first childbirth from 24.9 to 27.1. In 2003, the proportion of live births was the highest for women between 25–29 (88.1); then for those between 20–24 (64.1) and finally for those aged 30–34 (52.9), while in 2013 that proportion was the highest for woman between 25–29 (85.8), 30–34 (69.4) and 20–24 (48.4). This means that women from the two age groups swapped places and as a consequence, in 2013 more children were born by women at the beginning of the third decade of their life than those between 20 and 24 years of age. Moreover, the number of live births for women aged 15–19 declined slightly (from 14.5 to 13.7) and increased for women aged 35–39 (from 20.9 to 29.5), 40–44 (from 4.6 to 6.2) and even 45–49 (from 0.2 to 0.3).

Unfavourable situation was observed regarding the total fertility rate. Between 2003–2013 the total fertility rate stayed below the 2.1 threshold. In 2003, total fertility rate was 1.222, by 2009 it increased to 1.398, but in 2013 it declined to 1.256⁷.

The inhabitants of Poland live longer than they used to. Between 2003–2013 the life expectancy increased by 2.2 years for women (to 81.1) and by 2.6 for men (to 73.1). The difference in life expectancy between the sexes declines slowly: from 8.4 in 2003 to 8 years in 2013⁸.

Poland entered the second demographic transition characterised by a decline in the number of births and marriages, an increase in the mean age at childbirth and at matrimony, an increase in the number of divorces and couples living together in informal relationships. All those and interconnected phenomena are observed in Poland; however, they do not exactly match the patterns set by the other European states⁹.

⁶ *Struktura ludności do 2013 r.*, GUS, Tabela 3: *Rozwój i zmiany w strukturze ludności w latach 1950–2013*, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/ludnosc/struktura-ludnosci-do-2013-r-,16,1.html> [08.06.2014].

⁷ *Ibidem*, Tabela 7: *Dzietność kobiet w latach 1960–2013*.

⁸ *Stan i struktura ludności...*, *op.cit.*, p. 158–159.

⁹ *Prognoza ludności na lata 2008–2035*, GUS, Warszawa 2009, p. 16, http://stat.gov.pl/download/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/L_prognoza_ludnosci_na_lata2008_2035.pdf [08.06.2014].

According to a long term demographic forecast for Poland (up to 2035¹⁰), the population will decline and by 2035 it will reach 35.993 million people, which is 94.4% of the 2007 population (decline by 2.223 million individuals)¹¹. The demographic structure of the population by age will change dynamically, for population declines will be followed by increases and vice versa. In various periods their effects will overlap. The structure of the population will be less influenced by permanent international migrations¹².

By 2035 the working age population will decline by 3.8 million to 20.739 million comparing to 24.545 million in 2007. The population will also grow older: by 2035 the 60/65 and above age group will constitute 26.7% of the population, while the 0–17 age group's share will be just 15.6%. The consequences of population ageing include a decline of labour supply on the job market and an increase in the demographic dependency ratio from 56 in 2007 to 73 in 2035¹³.

The demographic forecasts for Poland prepared by Eurostat and the UN reach slightly different conclusions than the forecast prepared by GUS. Eurostat estimates that in 2035 the population of Poland will reach 36.141 million, while according to the UN it will be only 34.197 million. The GUS forecast (35.993 million) is about median when compared to the other two forecasts. Only Eurostat and GUS estimate the international migration balance. Both forecast that immigrants will outnumber emigrants (GUS by 10,000 and Eurostat by 4,400). GUS and the UN forecast the total fertility rate in 2035 at 1.45, while the Eurostat at 1.38. In any case the threshold of simple generation replacement will not be reached. The life expectancy for females and males will further increase to 84.5 and 77.7 (according to Eurostat), 82.9 and 75.5 (according to the UN), 82.9 and 77.1 (according to GUS). In 2035, the share of elderly population (80 years old and above) in the total population of Poland will be 7.7% (Eurostat), 7.2% (GUS) and 7.1% (UN). The EU population will grow from 499 million in 2010 to 521 million in 2035 (by 5.1%), while the population of Poland will decline by 5.2%, according to Eurostat¹⁴.

¹⁰ Por. *Prognoza ludności na lata 2008–2035*, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/prognoza-ludnosci/prognoza-ludnosci-na-lata-2008-2035,3,1.html> [08.06.2014].

¹¹ *Prognoza ludności na lata 2008–2035*, op.cit., p. 156.

¹² *Prognoza ludności Polski na lata 2008–2035, Notatka informacyjna*, GUS 25.07.2008, p. 3, http://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/L_prognoza_ludnosci_PL_2008-2035.pdf [08.06.2014].

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 3–5.

¹⁴ *Prognoza ludności na lata 2008–2035*, op.cit., p. 189–190.

The present demographic situation of Poland, its pattern of change in the last ten years and the demographic forecasts to 2035 strongly suggest that the demographic situation of Poland will deteriorate. This means it is necessary for Poland to introduce various policy actions in the fields of demographic policy, migration policy and employment policy to reduce the negative consequences of the demographic changes. The 2013 draft of Foundations of the Polish Population Policy enumerated the following demographic policy goals¹⁵:

- creating conditions for forming families, particularly through marriages, and childbearing
- facilitating integration in the ageing society by reducing social exclusion of older, disabled and dependant population
- improving the population health and reducing mortality
- drafting the goals and rules for the Polish migration policy in the integrating Europe.

3. The influence of emigration on the demographic situation of Poland after EU accession

In the Polish public statistics international migration is defined as a „departure from the country of permanent residence (emigration) or arrival at a country (immigration) in order to settle temporary or permanently”. There are two types of migration as per duration of stay (absence): short-term (3–12 months) and long-term (more than 12 months or permanent residence¹⁶). However, the Polish law does not define „immigration”, or „emigration”; therefore, the usage of the terms and their definitions developed in every day practice¹⁷.

¹⁵ Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, *Założenia polityki ludnościowej Polski. Projekt*, Warszawa, luty 2013, p. 13, http://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/bip/BIP_zalozenia_polityki_ludnosciowej_Polski_2013_projekt_luty_2013.pdf [08.06.2014].

¹⁶ *Raport z wyników: Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011*, GUS, Warszawa 2012, p. 36, http://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/lud_raport_z_wynikow_NSP2011.pdf [08.06.2014].

¹⁷ *Raport finalny w ramach Projektu Nr 12 „Poprawa jakości i dostępności statystyki migracji zagranicznych”*, GUS, Warszawa, grudzień 2007, p. 9; *Poprawa jakości i dostępności statystyki migracji zagranicznych*, GUS, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/>

Nationality and citizenship are important categories in the analysis of migration flows from the Polish perspective. Nationality is defined as „declarative, subjective, individual quality of any individual that expresses the person’s emotional, cultural bond or a bond resulting from the origins of parents with a nation or ethnic community”¹⁸. Citizenship is defined as a legal bond between a person and a state that is not implying nationality, nor ethnic origins. An individual may hold more than one citizenship or no citizenship at all (a stateless individual). If an individual holds more than one citizenship, including the Polish citizenship, he or she is considered a Pole in the Polish public statistics. Therefore, a foreigner is a person who does not hold Polish citizenship. Foreigners can be permanent residents of Poland or be short-term or long-term (residents) migrants¹⁹.

After 2004, more people emigrate from than immigrate to Poland (Poland is a net emigration state). EU membership facilitated mass emigration, particularly economic emigration, to the other member states. One of the factors that influenced the process of emigration to other EU member states was the decision of the governments of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden to open job markets immediately after the EU enlargement²⁰.

The Polish public statistics estimations regarding emigration are incomplete and faulty as a result of the definitions used, the available data and the instruments used²¹. Emigration is estimated on the basis of the number of the Polish citizens staying abroad temporarily (longer than 2 months between 2002–2006 or longer than 3 months between 2007–2012). A Polish citizen is considered to be temporarily staying abroad if he or she didn’t officially register his or her permanent address as „abroad”. Therefore, a temporary stay abroad may mean, and often means, permanent emigration.

In 2004 the number of emigrants from Poland was 1 million, while in 2012 it was 2.1 million; which means an increase of more than 100%. According to the 2002 National Census of Population and Housing, the last census before Poland’s EU

migracje-ludnosci/poprawa-jakosci-i-dostepnosci-statystyki-migracji-zagranicznych,5,1.html [08.06.2014].

¹⁸ *Raport z wyników: Narodowy Spis...*, op.cit., p. 36.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 35–36.

²⁰ Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, *Założenia polityki...*, op.cit., p. 181.

²¹ More see: *Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach emigracji z Polski w latach 2004–2012*, GUS, 07.10.2013, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/migracje-ludnosci/informacja-o-rozmiarach-i-kierunkach-emigracji-z-polski-w-latach-20042012,2,6.html> [08.06.2014].

accession, the number of emigrants from Poland was 786,000, while the 2011 National Census estimate of the number of emigrants is 2.017 million. The highest number of emigrants (2.27 million) was recorded in 2007; however, the 2008 financial crisis and the subsequent economic crisis reduced emigration. After Poland's accession in 2004 the EU became the prime destination for emigration. Between 2004–2012 a change in the country most often chosen for emigration occurred, as the United Kingdom replaced Germany. In that period the number of the Polish emigrants in Germany increased from 385,000 to 500,000 and in the United Kingdom from 150,000 to 637,000. At the end of 2012, other important emigration destinations included Ireland (118,000), the Netherlands (97,000) and Italy (97,000). In general, the Polish emigration, assuming that emigration is a temporary stay abroad longer than 3 months, concentrated in the United Kingdom (30%), Germany (22%) and the United States (12%), according to the 2011 National Census²².

According to the 2012 estimates, more than 75% of the Polish temporary emigrants reside abroad longer than 12 months, which means their emigration is long-term. The economic situation is the primary factor influencing emigration since 2003. According to the 2011 National Census, 73% of the Polish emigrants reside abroad because of their work, comparing to just 44% in 2002²³. However, in time reunification of families becomes a much more important factor influencing emigration, as emigrants are joined by their spouses and children.

The scale and socio-economic characteristics of the emigration significantly influence Poland's demographic and socio-economic situation. Emigrants are usually young people in the working age (83%; with 65% in the mobile working age) and children (aged 0–14; 11%)²⁴. The increase in emigration together with the decrease in the fertility rate and the ageing of the society are the factors that may lead to disturbances on the job market, in the social security system and in public finances, according to the Polish Government Population Council (RRL)²⁵.

²² *Raport z wyników: Narodowy Spis...*, op.cit., p. 102.

²³ *Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach emigracji z Polski w latach 2004–2012*, GUS, Warszawa, październik 2013, p. 4, http://stat.gov.pl/download/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/L_Szacunek_emigracji_z_Polski_lata_2004-2012_XI_2012.pdf [08.06.2014].

²⁴ *Raport z wyników: Narodowy Spis...*, op.cit., p. 101.

²⁵ Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, *Założenia polityki...*, op.cit., p. 181.

4. The importance of immigration for Poland's demographic future

Emigration, particularly to other European countries, is an important subject of research in Poland. Immigration to Poland is not large enough to stir much interest. However, as the importance of immigration grows, the number of studies increase and new methods of estimating international migrations emerge. The growing importance of immigration is caused by the present and forecast demographic situation of Poland.

Immigration, both temporary and permanent, is more and more often considered a solution to the incoming demographic problems of various European states, such as Germany or Poland. In order to diminish the size of the forecast demographic loss, Poland needs instruments and policies that will increase the size of immigration. The most desired immigrants are educated young people (pre-working and working age), preferably in the childbearing age, with specific qualifications and skills. The other important aim in Poland's opening to immigration is to attract individuals speaking a similar language and coming from a similar culture as that of the host state. Those similarities are important because they make the integration of the immigrants into the host society easier.

The reason why individuals decide to immigrate (both legally and illegally) include economic conditions, political or humanitarian situation, family reunification, and education. Illegal immigration to Poland is difficult to analyse because of limited data and research available.

4.1. Characteristics of the immigration to Poland

The 2011 National Census collected data on immigrants from a representative sample and from the data on immigrants living in the collective accommodation places (e.g. centres for refugees, hospitals). According to the Polish Central Statistical Office, a short-term immigrant is a foreigner staying in Poland without the right to permanent residence. Immigrants who have been granted permanent residence are considered inhabitants of Poland²⁶.

²⁶ *Migracje zagraniczne ludności. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011*, GUS, Warszawa 2013, p. 25, http://stat.gov.pl/download/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/L_migracje

In 2011 the Polish citizens constituted 99.8% (38.445 million) of permanent residents of Poland, while foreigners (individuals without Polish citizenship) constituted around 0.1% (57,500). Among foreigners living in Poland, 55,400 were citizens of other countries, while 2,000 were stateless. However, the number of stateless immigrants is probably lower. Moreover, the total number of immigrants in Poland is higher, as short-term immigrants (those who are permanent residents of other countries) are not considered inhabitants of Poland. Individuals who are staying in Poland longer than 12 months or who plan to stay in Poland longer than 12 months are considered resident population²⁷. One of the factors that influenced the size of the temporary immigration was Poland's accession to the EU; however, the number of temporary immigrants in the absolute terms is still very low²⁸.

The number of immigrants temporary staying in Poland according to the 2011 National Census was 56,300, of which 40,097 individuals stayed longer than 3 months. The number of immigrants staying in Poland for at least 12 months was 27,000, and the number of immigrants planning to stay for at least a year was 36,000. The number of immigrants increased comparing to the 2002 National Census, as the results collected in that year estimated the number of the immigrants staying in Poland longer than 2 months at 34,100. However, the data collected during both National Censuses was considered to be below the real levels of immigration²⁹.

In 2011, three quarters of 40,097 temporary immigrants staying more than 3 months in Poland originated from other European countries, out of which half came from the EU (15,700 individuals). As many as 15.2% originated from Asia (usually China and Vietnam). As for the other continents, immigrants from North and Central America constituted 5.6% of the total immigration, from Africa (mostly Nigeria and Tunisia) – 3.5%, from South America – 0.6%, and from Australia and Oceania – 0.4%.

_zagranciczne_ludnosci_NSP2011.pdf; see also: *Migracje zagraniczne ludności* – NSP 2011, GUS, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/narodowy-spis-powszechny-ludnosci-i-mieszkan-2011/migracje-zagraniczne-ludnosci-nsp-2011,1,1.html> [08.06.2014].

²⁷ *Raport z wyników: Narodowy Spis...*, op.cit., p. 106.

²⁸ *Migracje zagraniczne ludności. Narodowy Spis...*, op.cit., p. 28.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

Table 3. Temporary immigrants staying more than 3 months in Poland by the previous country of residence according to the 2011 National Census

Previous state of residence	Total	
	in absolute numbers	%
TOTAL	40,097	100.0
EUROPE	29,988	74.8
EU MEMBER STATES	15,691	39.1
Among others:		
Germany	4,785	11.9
United Kingdom	2,548	6.4
Bulgaria	1,105	2.8
Italy	1,033	2.6
France	1,001	2.5
The Netherlands	707	1.8
OTHER EUROPEAN STATES	14,297	35.7
Among others:		
Ukraine	8,492	21.2
Belarus	2,304	5.7
Russia	1,571	3.9
Turkey	694	1.7
Norway	574	1.4
ASIA	6,076	15.2
Among others:		
China	1,301	3.2
Vietnam	1,072	2.7
Armenia	730	1.8
India	430	1.1
Kazakhstan	303	0.8
Japan	265	0.7
South Korea	229	0.6
NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA	2,258	5.6
Among others:		
United States	1,807	4.5
Canada	254	0.6
SOUTH AMERICA	228	0.6
AFRICA	1 390	3.5
Among others:		
Nigeria	332	0.8
Tunisia	230	0.6
AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA	157	0.4

Source: Own work based on Tabela 2: *Imigranci przebywający w Polsce czasowo powyżej 3 miesięcy według czasu przebywania oraz płci i kraju poprzedniego zamieszkania*, in: *Migracje zagraniczne ludności – NSP 2011*, GUS, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/narodowy-spis-powszechny-ludnosci-i-mieszkan-2011/migracje-zagraniczne-ludnosci-nsp-2011,1,1.html> [08.06.2014].

According to the 2011 National Census, by the previous state of residence (Table 3) the immigrants originated mainly from: Ukraine (21.2%), Germany (11.9%), United Kingdom (6.4%), Belarus (5.7%) and also from USA, Russia, China, Bulgaria, Vietnam, Italy and France.

A large share of immigrants from the United Kingdom seems particularly interesting, as it includes returning Polish citizens. Poland's accession to the EU was a factor that influenced the increase in the number of immigrants from Asia. The number of temporary immigrants from China increased from 172 to 1,042 between the 2002 and the 2011, according to the National Census. Moreover, when compared against the data provided by the Polish Office for Foreigners, the National Census data on the number of Chinese immigrants seem too low³⁰.

In 2011 non-Polish citizens constituted 76% of total temporary immigrants staying more than 3 months in Poland, followed by Poles (23.5%), stateless individuals (0.3%) and individuals with unknown citizenship (0.1%). However, if a person had both Polish and foreign citizenship, the Polish citizenship was considered, and if a person had dual foreign citizenship, the citizenship indicated in a questionnaire as the first was considered. The dominant citizenships among foreign immigrants were: Ukrainian (16.6%), Belarusian (4.3%), German (4%), Russian (3.2%) and Chinese (2.7%)³¹.

The 2011 National Census collected data on the main causes of temporary immigration to Poland using the following criteria: work, education, family, medical, international or national protection, other or unknown. However, the causes behind the decision to immigrate to another state are multiple. According to the 2011 National Census data, family matters were most often (31%) given as a reason to immigrate to Poland, followed by work (26%) and education (10%). Only 1% of immigrants indicated international and national protection as a reason for immigration to Poland. For another 1% of immigrants seeking medical treatment was the primary reason to come to Poland; however, most of the individuals in that group were Polish nationals. Almost one third (31%) of immigrants fell into the categories of „other”

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 32.

³¹ *Migracje zagraniczne ludności – NSP 2011*, GUS, Tabela 6: *Imigranci przebywający w Polsce czasowo powyżej 3 miesięcy według czasu przebywania oraz płci i kraju obywatelstwa*, <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/narodowy-spis-powszechny-ludnosc-i-mieszkan-2011/migracje-zagraniczne-ludnosc-nsp-2011,1,1.html> [08.06.2014].

or „unknown” causes of immigration to Poland³². In 2011, the number of short-term economic immigrants was higher than the number of long-term economic migrants, exactly contrary to the situation in 2002. The preference towards economic and short-term immigration reflects the changes in the global and European economies³³.

4.2. Economic immigration from Eastern Europe

The most common form of economic immigration to Poland is the so-called circular migration: multiple short-term stays in Poland and frequent travels by immigrants between Poland and their countries of origin. Although circular immigration is common in Poland, there are no exact data on the phenomenon. However, it is assumed that the number of circular immigrants is several hundred thousand and that immigrants originate usually from Ukraine and Belarus³⁴. The reasons why circular immigration is the dominant form of immigration include factors (1) related to the immigrants and their states of origin and (2) related to the Polish job market.

Unemployment and the low salaries when the employment is available are the two reasons related to the country of origin why immigrants seek work, even temporary one, in Poland³⁵. Poland is also attractive as a host state due to the cultural (linguistic) and geographical proximity to Ukraine and Belarus. For circular immigrants, short distances between their homes and workplaces mean that the constant voyages are cheaper and less time-consuming. Those two factors are of prime importance to those immigrants, mainly women, whose children stayed home. The relative geographical proximity makes frequent direct contact with families possible; therefore, the psychological cost of immigration is lower³⁶.

³² *Migracje zagraniczne ludności...*, op.cit., Tabela 13. *Imigranci przebywający w Polsce czasowo powyżej 3 miesięcy według obywatelstwa i przyczyn imigracji.*

³³ *Migracje zagraniczne ludności...*, op.cit., p. 35–36.

³⁴ J. Segeš Frelak, M. Bieniecki, *Czy wprowadzać mechanizmy integracyjne dla cudzoziemców pracujących w Polsce sezonowo?*, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa 2012, p. 6.

³⁵ E. Libanova, O. Malynovska, *Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe. Final Country Report: Ukraine*, Gesellschaft für Versicherungswissenschaft und -gestaltung e.V on behalf of the European Commission DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, April 2012, p. 4.

³⁶ J. Segeš Frelak, M. Bieniecki, *Czy wprowadzać mechanizmy...*, op.cit., p. 5.

As to the Polish job market, the jobs available to immigrants most often are limited to simple jobs that do not require special qualifications, knowledge or skills, e.g. seasonal work, particularly in farming³⁷. Therefore, there are no incentives for circular immigrants on the job market to settle in Poland permanently. At the same time the economic situation in their countries of origin still forces them to search for work abroad. As a result, skilled migrants from Ukraine and Belarus are often forced to look for work in Poland and to accept work below their qualification level (brain waste)³⁸.

Another consequence of the type of work available to circular immigrants is predominance of illegal work, for both immigrants and employers seek to avoid taxes and formalities³⁹. However, in the long term it is the employers who gain more, as relying on illegal work pushes the costs down and at the same time limits the bargain power of both immigrant and domestic workers. In the end, low labour costs make the whole sectors that employ immigrant workers more competitive. Therefore, one can argue that without cheap illegal labour provided by circular immigrants from Ukraine and Belarus such sectors of the Polish economy as e.g. agriculture would be less competitive, and the prices of agricultural products would be higher.

The Ukrainians form the largest immigrant group in Poland. However, the number of the Ukrainian nationals living and working in Poland remains unknown, and only various estimates are available. According to the 2011 National Census, there were 227,400 individuals born in Ukraine living in Poland, which means 0.6% of the total population of the country and 33.7% of all people born abroad but living in Poland. Comparing to the 2002 National Census, the number of Ukrainian-born individuals living in Poland declined from 309,100⁴⁰. However, the number of Ukrainian-born inhabitants cannot be used to measure the number of Ukrainians living in Poland or the number of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland, as it includes

³⁷ M. Starczewska-Krzysztozek wystąpienie w panelu „Migracje – Konieczność, szansa czy zagrożenie dla gospodarki krajów Unii Europejskiej” w ramach II Kongresu Demograficznego, in: *Polska w Europie – Przyszłość demograficzna. Sesja inauguracyjna*, red. Z. Strzelecki, A. Potrykowska, Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, Warszawa 2012, p. 232.

³⁸ M. Hofmann, D. Reichel, *Ukrainian Migration: An analysis of migration movements to, through and from Ukraine*, International Centre for Migration Policy Development, Vienna 2011, p. 10.

³⁹ J. Segeš Frelak, M. Bieniecki, *Czy wprowadzać mechanizmy...*, op.cit., p. 7–8.

⁴⁰ *Ludność. Stan i struktura demograficzno-społeczna. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011*, Warszawa 2013, Tabela 3.1. *Ludność według kraju urodzenia w latach 2002–2011*, p. 75.

Poles born on the pre-second world war Polish territory, which was integrated into Ukraine after the war⁴¹. At the risk of certain oversimplification it can be assumed that Polish citizens born in Ukraine after the second world war (28,600 individuals) are in fact immigrants.

One can probably consider the 13,400 Ukrainian citizens who hold permanent residence in Poland (or 24.2% of all permanent residents of Poland who are not Polish citizens, according to the 2011 National Census) as immigrants. Comparing to the 2002 National Census, their number increased almost twofold⁴². The number of immigrants from Ukraine (or with strong ties to Ukraine) can be further increased by including in it the residents of Poland holding Ukrainian citizenship in addition to another citizenship. Altogether, there are 15,700 permanent residents of Poland who can be considered immigrants from Ukraine (2,300 of them holds Polish citizenship)⁴³.

In 2008, according to the Polish Office for Foreigners, 22,800 Ukrainians who had valid residence permits lived in Poland, and by 2013 their number increased to 37,700 or by 60.5%⁴⁴. Of that number, almost 18,000 individuals were granted a settlement permit, and more than 17,000 Ukrainian nationals were granted a temporary residence permit⁴⁵.

Other data on the number of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland is provided by the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy's labour market statistics. The Ministry registers all work permits and declarations of intent to employ a foreigner⁴⁶. In

⁴¹ Z. Brunarska, *Ukraińscy migranci w Polsce: sytuacja obecna*, in: Z. Brunarska, M. Grotte, M. Lesińska, *Migracje obywateli Ukrainy do Polski w kontekście rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego: stan obecny, polityka, transfery pieniężne*, „Center of Migration Research Working Papers” No. 60/118, Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2012, p. 7.

⁴² *Ludność. Stan i struktura demograficzno-społeczna...*, op.cit., Tabela 3.3. *Ludność według kraju pierwszego obywatelstwa w latach 2002 i 2011*, p. 82.

⁴³ *Ludność. Stan i struktura demograficzno-społeczna...*, op.cit., Tabela 3.4. *Ludność z obywatelstwem obcym z uwzględnieniem obywatelstwa podwójnego i potrójnego w 2011 roku – wybrane kraje obywatelstwa*, p. 87.

⁴⁴ Z. Brunarska, *Ukraińscy migranci...*, op.cit., p. 9.

⁴⁵ *Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców, Wstępne zestawienie liczbowe dotyczące postępowań prowadzonych wobec cudzoziemców w 2013 r.*, Tabela 23. *Liczba osób, które posiadają ważne karty pobytu wg obywatelstwa i rodzaju zezwolenia (stan na 9.12.2013 r.)*, <http://www.udsc.gov.pl/files/statystyki/biuletyn/2013.xls> [08.06.2014].

⁴⁶ A deceleration of intent to employ a foreigner is a measure to facilitate employment procedure for citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine. After

2013, 235,600 declarations were registered in total, of which 217,600 were issued to Ukrainian citizens. The employers declared that 53.6% of foreigners will be employed in agriculture and 11.9% in construction. The intended duration of employment in 94% of cases was between 3 and 6 months⁴⁷. However, it needs to be stressed that the Ministry of Labour data on the number of the immigrants from Ukraine are just estimates.

Another source of data on the number of immigrants from Ukraine is provided by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The number of immigrants, particularly circular immigrants, can be estimated using the number of the visas issued by the Polish diplomatic representations in Ukraine. In 2013 alone, more than 660,000 Polish visas were issued to the Ukrainian citizens wishing to travel to Poland for work (14%), business (21%), holidays (20%), family matters (8%), study (1%) and other reasons (36%)⁴⁸. Unfortunately, the number of visa issued does not provide the researcher with the answer to the question on the number of economic immigrants from Ukraine living and working in Poland, mainly because it is impossible to estimate what is the share of Ukrainians who stayed in Poland to work illegally while travelling on a tourist visa.

Combining data from different sources is unfortunately insufficient in order to obtain data on the size of Ukrainian immigration to Poland. However, comparison of data from different sources provides an answer to the question why the estimates of the size of Ukrainian immigration in Poland give strikingly different figures: from 100,000 to 1,000,000, with most sources estimating it between 200,000–300,000⁴⁹,

an employer registers such a declaration at a local employment agency, a foreigner can be employed for up to 6 months during the following year. Such a declaration of intent can be used as justification for issuing a Polish visa, see: Rozporządzenie Ministra Pracy i Polityki Społecznej z dnia 20 lipca 2011 r. w sprawie przypadków, w których powierzenie wykonywania pracy cudzoziemcowi na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej jest dopuszczalne bez konieczności uzyskania zezwolenia na pracę (DzU z 2011 r., nr 155, poz. 919).

⁴⁷ *Liczba i struktura oświadczeń zarejestrowanych przez powiatowe urzędy pracy w roku 2013*, in: *Oświadczenia – rok 2013*, Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, *Cudzoziemcy pracujący w Polsce – statystyki*, http://www.mpips.gov.pl/gfx/mpips/userfiles/_public/1_NOWA%20STRONA/Analizy%20i%20raporty/cudzoziemncy%20pracujacy%20w%20polsce/Oswiadczenia_2013.xlsx [08.06.2014].

⁴⁸ Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, *Raport Polskiej Służby Konsularnej za 2013 rok*, Warszawa 2014, p. 41.

⁴⁹ Z. Brunarska, *Ukraińscy migranci...*, op.cit., p. 13; V. Gumińska, *Imigranci zatrudnieni w Polsce po wstąpieniu Polski do UE*, „Master of Business Administration” 2010, nr 2 (103), p. 82.

individuals from Ukraine living and working illegally in Poland. The total number of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland, including Ukrainians holding Polish citizenship or permanent residence, based on the aforementioned sources, is estimated in this analysis at around 400,000 individuals.

Conclusions

Demographic and social changes in the contemporary Poland imply that the country is in a transformative phase, when the processes typical for developing (such as surplus labour) and developed countries (such as large economic immigration and ageing of society) occur simultaneously. In effect, there is a need for combined policy approach (combining population policies with migration policies and labour policies as well as with introducing new economic development strategy) necessary to limit the effects of the demographic crisis and sustain the economic growth. Moreover, it needs to be stressed that the combination of factors characteristic to Poland makes copying of policies adopted elsewhere ineffective. It is necessary to prepare policies, inspired by the solutions introduced in other countries, but designed to suit the local conditions. The policy makers as well as citizens of Poland will also have to accept the fact that Poland will no longer remain an ethnically and religiously homogeneous state.